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241 311 461 tion. Many men consider garden work arduous and tiresome and spend as little time as possible on their gardens, preferring to spear fish, sail, or do carpenter work, or to do nothing. Others work sporadically. Second, unequal distribution of the garden land reduces the output. Some clans, especially those in the land phratry, own two or three times as much garden land as others. If a clan is rich in land and poor in man power, at least part of its land is neglected through lack of labor, even though some of it is occasionally lent for cultivation to another clan. On Kambara the clans Vuanikathu and Nawi, both of which lack young men, own more land than they use. Matasoata and Tanggu are poor in land. Third, the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208) discourages conscientious work on the land.

241 461 The headman of a prominent clan on Kambara owns good garden lands, which he cultivates with great care and patience. His crops are large with a relatively high yield per acre and he always has enough food. His garden produce is constantly solicited by relatives. In fact, the headman's industry has slackened that of his relatives. One day he told me that during the past three days 20 baskets of sweet potatoes had been stolen from his garden. [674] He knew the thief was a relative but did nothing about it because if the theft were exposed the prestige of the clan would suffer.

Industrious individuals are rare but they enjoy high social prestige. If one member of a clan has a good crop and food is needed for a birth, marriage, [558] or death feast within the clan, he is expected to contribute the bulk of his produce. If he does not do so, he loses prestige. One young man of Undu had the only yam garden on Kambara and had given it great care. While he was absent from the island toward harvest time, his grandfather died and his clan consumed the yams in the death feast.

On Wangava, claimed by Naivotavota clan, Kambara, only a small part of the best garden land is utilized. The gardens have been deserted because of fear of evil spirits which bring illness. But, aside from this fear, one clan cannot furnish the labor necessary to take full advantage of its natural wealth and other clans hesitate to solicit land on a spirit-infested islet.

On Fulanga, all the land which will yield even a meager crop is under cultivation. All possible garden lands have long been cleared and the supply is fixed. Intensive methods are uniformly employed and production is just about at the maximum under native methods. Garden work is so difficult that every man who harvests a crop must be industrious. Though Fulangans work much harder than their neighbors, part of their food must be collected from the bush and imported. The land situation on Ongea is similar to that on Fulanga except that the food problem is not so acute.

Namuka and Mothe have more than enough food. Only part of the best, fertile land of Mothe is used for gardens, which yield large crops with a

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The natives collect fruits, and greens, hunt, and set traps only in the bush adjacent to their own villages. 423

Formerly, besides clearing land, a clan could acquire garden land by marriage, war, or by gift from a chief. Occasionally, when a woman of the lower class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *sovisovi ni ndraundrau* (place to collect leaves.) The woman was responsible for gathering the daily supply of edible leaves. The land remained in the man's clan unless after his death his children were adopted by their mother's clan, when the land was returned with the children. If the children remained with their father's people, even though the widow went back to her people, the land was kept also. Sotchiana of Rasea clan; Fulanga, married Tchone of Vandravandra and brought a piece of land to her husband's clan. After his death she stayed with his clan and the clan kept the land. Vunise of Sau clan took a piece of land to Vunikoro when she married Lote. The land remained the property of Vunikoro. When Semitchi of Mbete subclan, Kambara, married Kalavu of Lomatchi, she brought a piece of land. Land is no longer acquired in this fashion. If one village conquered another the victors class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *ka ni mbula* (thing of life). Land was also given by one village to another in return for help in warfare, but it has been several generations since land has changed hands through warfare. 425 [565]

Today a clan may acquire the ownership of new garden land only by clearing bush. Newly cleared land belongs to the man who clears it. This means that it is used by him, his household, and his children. The clan has no right to deprive him of this land, though the land is considered to be the property of the clan. If the land is cleared by the combined labor of a subclan its use belongs to the subclan.

Small, uninhabited islands are also clan owned. The clan claims exclusive ownership of all the land and fishing rights of its island. For example, the Naivotavota clan of Kambara claims ownership of Wangava; clans of Undu village own the island of Marambo; Vuanitavola clan owns the island of Tavunasithi; the islands of the central Fulanga lagoon belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and to Naivindamu villages. 423

Cultivated fruit trees in the village—such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut, banana, and *ndawa*—belong to the man who plants them, and no one but the owner is allowed to pick the fruit. Fruit trees are inherited from father to son. If a tabu has been declared on the fruit crop, the owner of the fruit trees is not allowed to pick the fruit until after the first fruits' ceremony. If the owner's right over the fruit of his trees is not respected he marks them tabu by tying a coconut leaf round the trunk. This is called *tambu*. It serves to check but does not eliminate pilfering of ripe fruit by children during the [428] 423 674

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423 [674] day and by adults on dark nights. Mango trees are especially molested by trespassers.

On Fulanga each clan owns two trees, a *tarai* and a *mbau*, located in the bush. These trees are called *mbilita* (that is, *mbilita ni matanggali Vunikoro-mbilita* of the Vunikoro clan, etc.), and each has a name. They belong exclusively to the proprietary clan and only members of that clan are allowed to pick the fruit. The names of the *tarai* trees belonging to the clans of Muanaithake village are: Tarainanga of Vunikoro; Ulumburu of Rasea; Luvenimbumbu of Vandravandra; Kawakawaloa of Nasava; and Taraimbalavu of Sau. The ground around the *mbilita* is kept free of bush and weeds. A stone circle is built around the *mbau mbilita* and the *mbau* fruits are picked green, thrown into the enclosure, covered with leaves, and allowed to ripen. A ditch, called *ovaova*, is dug around the trunk of the *tarai mbilita* but the fruit is allowed to ripen on the tree. According to the natives, the *mbilita* custom came about in the following way. In olden days when a man found a good *mbau* or *tarai* tree, he cleared the ground around the trunk and the tree became the *mbilita* of his clan or of his household. Today there are no *mbilita* belonging to households. I did not find the *mbilita* custom on other islands. The Kambarans had never heard of it.

[84]

Fishing rights are village property. The lagoons of an island are divided by the adjacent villages, and for inhabitants of one village to use the ground of another village without permission means loss of prestige. Fishponds and equipment used in village communal fishing are village property.

Water holes and communally built reservoirs, located in the village, are owned by the village and used by its inhabitants. Water holes located in the bush are usually free. There is a dispute regarding the ownership of Wai Mariko, a fresh water hole near Tokalau, which is claimed by two clans, Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu. The village cemetery belongs to the village but each clan has a lot in it.

Moveable Property

422 *I yau* is a native classification of property which may be defined as moveable property. The natives are not quite sure just what the term includes. When they speak of *i yau* they think mainly of craft goods such as mats, tapa, woodwork, coconut oil, sennit, and canoes. They say whales' teeth are also *i yau* but usually mention them separately. Pigs, fowl, turtles, and food (*kakana*) are also classed as *i yau* but the natives are not sure whether houses should be included.

422 556 436 The most valuable objects in Lau are whales' teeth. They serve as a means by which wealth may be accumulated, condensed, stored, and exchanged. The value of other objects cannot be expressed in terms of whales' teeth, thus they

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given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.[55] To increase the patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine (called *pala fatafata*)[56] before meals and other medicines.[57]

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

[55] The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water.

[56] The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torenna sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

[57] The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.